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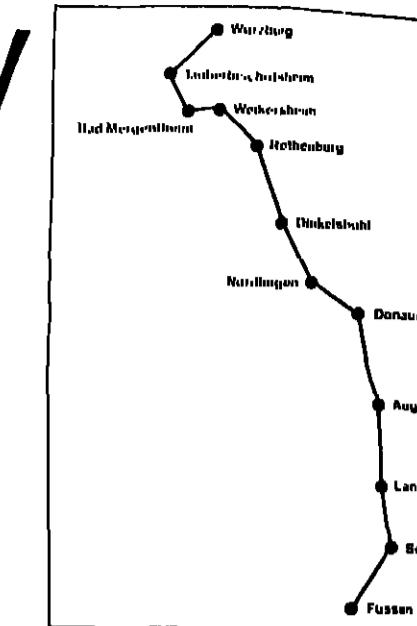
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## Watershed in arms control: now for the future

**Frankfurter Allgemeine**

The signing of the INF treaty on the worldwide elimination of medium-range missiles is a watershed in the field of arms control policy.

Reagan and Gorbachov have achieved a breakthrough. For the first time since the advent of the nuclear age agreement has been reached to reduce the world's arsenal of nuclear weapons.

The treaty, however, only relates to weapon systems which the two superpowers do not need to defend their own national territories.

The Soviet Union is more than relieved about the negotiated removal of the US Pershing-2 missiles deployed in Western Europe, above all, in Federal Republic of Germany, which have played a major role in the deterrence strategy.

In comparison with the means of preventing violations in previous arms control agreements the inspection provisions in the INF treaty are sensational.

Both sides will be allowed to inspect military installations which have up to now ranked as jealously guarded secrets.

The trust this creates is bound to have a positive impact on future arms control negotiations.

If everything goes off according to plan the Soviet obsession with safeguarding its own security, a fear of the outside world reflected in a strategy of overkill, will be diminished.

The two superpowers are now faced by their real task: to cut their arsenals of strategic long-range missiles and at the same time ensure balanced security at a lower level of armament.

President Reagan and General-Secretary Gorbachov would like to see negotiations on the START agreement on a 50 percent reduction in ground-, sea- and air-launched intercontinental weapons concluded as soon as possible.

As in Reykjavik, Gorbachov called for the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the turn of the century.

He has come to terms with the fact that America will continue its research on the development of a space-based defence system, albeit within the framework of the ABM Treaty — at present, the only internationally binding arms limitation agreement between Washington and Moscow.

Both sides know that the elimination of what the Soviet Union regards as the symbol of its world power status — the primarily land-based intercontinental missiles — will only be possible if a balance of conventional forces in Europe is also sought.

Both sides also know that a deep chasm of prejudices, strategic doctrines and mistrust still lies between the pleasant-sounding and enthusiastic declarations of the third summit meeting and the disarmament steps yet to be taken.

Above all, they are aware of the fact that the control and inspection of the elimination of strategic long-range missiles will be particularly difficult.

Arms control cannot remain the fulcrum and virtually exclusive content of East-West relations.

The Washington summit put an end to the brand of detente policy pursued since the beginning of the 1970s.

Only time will tell whether greater East-West rapprochement will now also occur in other fields, such as human rights, freedom of travel and satisfying the most urgent needs of Third World countries.

The Soviet Union could make more than a symbolic gesture in this respect by withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan.

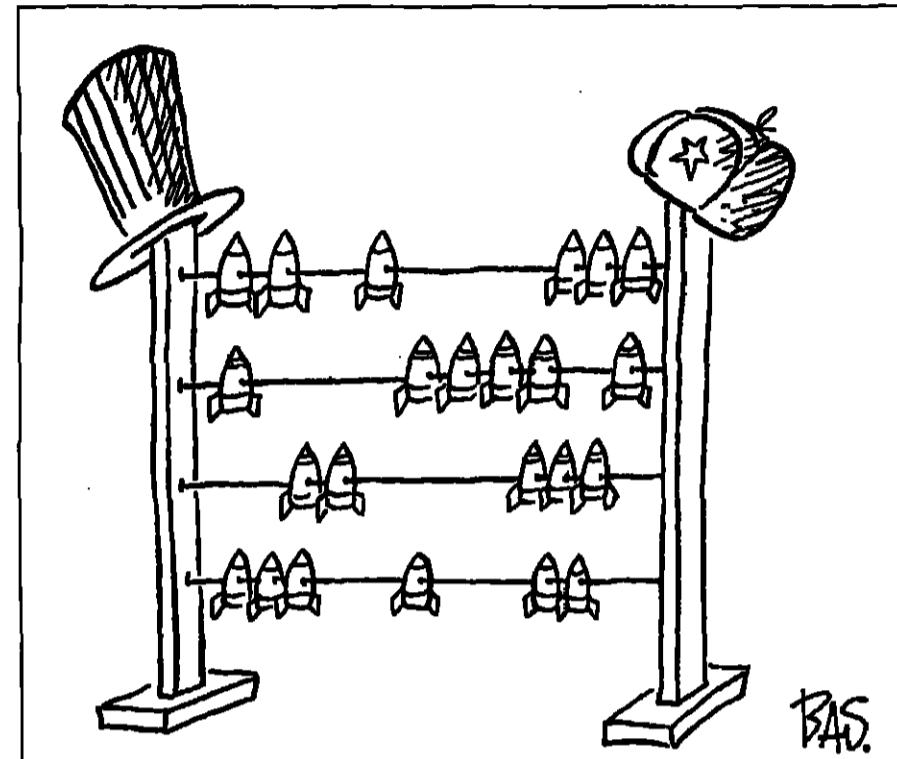
In Europe, however, the continuation of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional forces "from the Atlantic to the Urals" will become the priority task.

President Reagan, whose final term of office is drawing to a close, and the younger Soviet leader Gorbachov, who is bent on a course of reform, gave mutual assurances in Washington that the INF treaty is just a first step.

It's a good thing that the two leaders are realists, since the relationship between the two superpowers will remain antagonistic as long as the Soviet Union refuses to abandon its long-term objectives. Gorbachov failed to mention this aspect in Washington.

The Washington summit may help free the relationship between Washington and Moscow from the periodic fluctuation "between paranoia and euphoria" which so often irritated former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Perhaps a process of true normalisation will now begin on the basis of a sober assessment of national interests.

The summit outcome should prompt Europe to become aware of its own role.



(Cartoon: Mitropoulos/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

## Acid test for disarmament still to come

**Übersee Nachrichten**

The Bonn government views the agreement between the two superpowers to scrap their medium-range nuclear missiles as a turning-point in East-West relations.

This was emphasised by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a government statement. He said that the Germans, as the people most threatened by the arms race, want more not less disarmament.

Doubts were previously expressed about this after Bonn hesitated to relinquish

More on treaty: pages 2 and 3.

quish the Pershing-1 missiles, whose nuclear warheads belong to the USA.

Washington, however, dismissed the reservations of their German allies by referring to the remaining air- and sea-based nuclear potential.

Kohl replied that the only nuclear weapons left would have a range of less than 500 kilometres and that these would land on German soil only in a wartime situation.

So the logical conclusion politicians from all parties seemed to draw, therefore, was that the next step would have to be to scrap these missiles too.

By this stage at the very latest, however, the other partners in the Alliance expressed their misgivings.

The question was then raised of when  
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The next edition of  
THE GERMAN TRIBUNE  
will appear on 3 January

## WORLD AFFAIRS

### Differing views in Brussels on the treaty

Frankfurter Rundschau

There are still plenty of uncertainties following what was perhaps prematurely described as the "historic" Washington summit meeting between the superpowers.

It is by no means certain whether the signing of the INF treaty on the elimination of ground-launched medium-range missiles will lead to further disarmament.

The differing views surfaced during a meeting of the Nato council of foreign ministers in Brussels, during which US Secretary of State George Shultz told his colleagues about the summit's outcome.

The conservative government in France has domestic policy reasons for disliking the whole direction in which disarmament policy is moving.

As the socialist president Francois Mitterrand steered a "pro-Atlantic" course and also finally approved of the double zero solution during his presidential term Prime Minister Jacques Chirac wants to promote an image as the custodian of Gaullist values for the presidential election in May.

The French Foreign Minister Raymond went to Brussels with the mandate neither to unreservedly sanction the INF treaty nor the insistence of the other Alliance partners to establish a balance of conventional forces in negotiations between the two military blocs "between the Atlantic and the Urals". Even though the other Nato partners were generally pleased about the INF treaty a basis must be found for answers to other questions which may now arise.

How should Nato respond to a proposal, expected by some and feared by others, by Soviet leader Gorbachov to scrap the nuclear short-range missiles belonging to the two military blocs too?

Are these missiles indispensable from Nato's point of view as long as the Soviet superiority in the field of conventional forces remains?

How can the East-West negotiations between the two alliances be designed so as to prevent them from being constantly impaired by Paris?

What about the already planned modernisation of Nato's nuclear short-range missiles?

The uncertainty whether the US Senate will actually ratify the INF treaty hovers over all these questions.

The French misgivings are grist to the mill of the Washington "hawks".

Any unfortunate incident somewhere in the world involving the two superpowers would lend support to this camp.

The non-ratification of the treaty in Washington would probably force Gorbachov to make a fundamental change of course in Moscow.

It also seems doubtful if the Start agreement on halving strategic weapons will happen in Geneva while Reagan is in office.

Cool composure is needed if the disarmament process is to continue.

If the INF treaty is effected it will provide a significant yardstick.

For the first time ever exact figures, geographical information and technical details have been exchanged.

The graduated lawyer began his political career as a CDU state parliamentary adviser in Baden-Württemberg in 1962.

In 1965 he became a member of the Bundestag as representative of constituency 172 (Göppingen).

He specialised in defence policy and already became a top-level politician in the CDU/CSU parliamentary party in 1969.

He was presented for the first time as a possible defence minister by opposition leader Rainer Barzel in the CDU shadow cabinet before the 1972 general election.

When the SPD-FDP government led by Helmut Schmidt was toppled on 1 October, 1982, it was taken for granted that Wörner would take over at the helm of the Bonn Defence Ministry.

He had no trouble holding his post following the general election in 1983.

Following the general election in January 1987, however, it was not so clear whether Wörner would retain his portfolio in Chancellor Kohl's third cabinet.

There was plenty of premature praise for him as a defence policy specialist in 1982. He was reputed to love his work and passionately enjoy being a minister. Today, however, it is clear that Wörner would like to move to Brussels.

It's not always been a success story for Wörner. He has suffered many serious setbacks.

He used to be an outward-going person who enjoyed having a good laugh; now he often seems aloof and rather arrogant.

The eighth Defence Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, who always emphatically supported strong Alliance and Bundeswehr, soon realised that the limitations of his budget made it increasingly difficult to achieve his objectives.

As this contradicts western figures and demarcation problems for such weapon systems are difficult, long negotiations can be expected here.

However, perhaps Tschervov wanted to above all disturb the forthcoming negotiations of Nato foreign ministers on the initial western proposal.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1987)

## East Bloc again pulls out the big hammer

conference on religious liberty and the freedom of speech, which was organised by an independent "Press Association Glasnost", was not allowed to take place. In Warsaw and in other Polish cities the police took action against human rights activists demonstrating for the release of political prisoners.

In Prague a human rights rally with attended by roughly one thousand people was dispersed and the public reading out of a list of the names of political prisoners was drowned by the sound of Christmas carols being played over a public address system.

In Moscow the start of an international

## Few air-pockets on minister's flight-path to top Nato job

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner always had his sights set high.

As wing-commander in the reserve air force he completed over one thousand flights in Bundeswehr jets.

Together with mountain riflemen he climbed up a mountain called Wörner in the Karwendel mountain range.

And now the man born on 24 September, 1934, in Stuttgart has reached the peak of his own personal career.

On 11 December the foreign ministers of the Nato council selected him as the seventh Nato secretary-general.

At first glance his political career seems to have moved in a straight line, without too many bumps along the way.

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Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 December 1987)



Popular abroad... Defence Minister Wörner.

(Photo: Werd)

The most serious crisis was in 1982/83 in connection with the premature sacking of the four-star general Günter Kiesling when it leaked out that he had justified the dismissal by referring to the general's alleged contacts with homosexuals.

He lost lot of public sympathy and backing by the military and his own party because of the affair. He owes the fact that he was kept on as Defence Minister to Chancellor Kohl. Kiesling was reinstated.

The affair still sticks to Wörner and makes less serious slip-ups seem more serious than they are.

Wörner has always been one of the Chancellor's strongest supporters. Right from the start he vehemently defended the Nato twin-track decision and the deployment of medium-range missiles in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Points in his favour include measures to restructure the promotion system in the armed forces, the new regulation of the right of conscientious objection, and the role assigned by the Chancellor of maintaining a balance between the CDU position and the position of the FDP Foreign Minister within the framework of Bonn's security policy.

He was able to consolidate his position again after the Kiesling affair because he was and is a popular partner for talks abroad.

Together with the major political role of the Federal Republic of Germany in Nato these assets probably explain why, despite some difficulties, the Alliance unanimously appointed Manfred Wörner as its new secretary-general.

Wörner is unlikely to be too sad about leaving Bonn, since through no fault of his own he will have to bequeath his successor substantial personnel and financial problems for the 1990s.

In view of the GDR protest in Bonn against "intervention in its internal affairs" it is worth recalling that the violation of human rights is not an internal matter of individual states.

The East bloc countries also signed the CSCE final accords in Helsinki and the UN declaration of human rights.

Wherever human rights are violated — Afghanistan, Chile or Eastern Europe — it is an international matter.

There are signs that Gorbachov noticed in America just how important the West thinks individual freedom is.

These are the same freedoms, incidentally, which are also guaranteed in the constitutions of Eastern bloc countries.

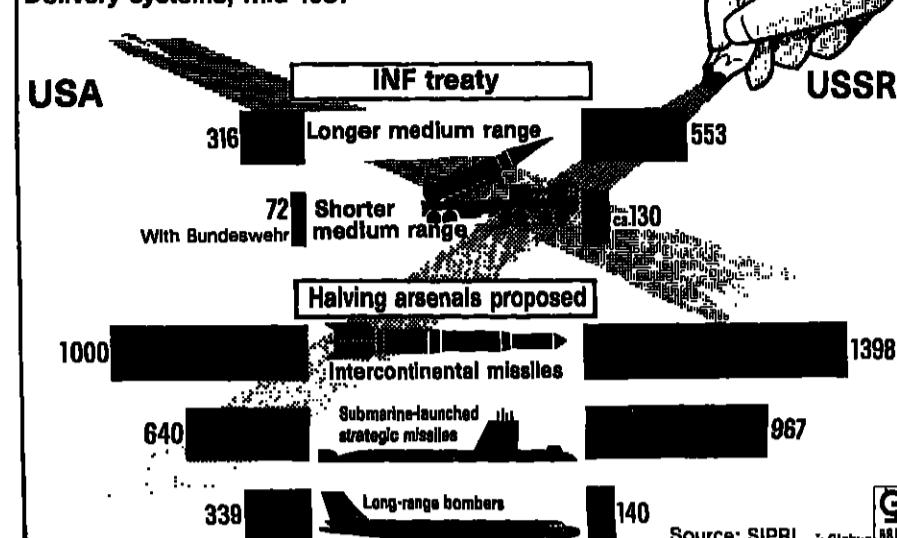
Anyone who tries to talk about the

## THE INF TREATY

### Milestones on a long road to success

#### Getting rid of the nuclear missiles

Delivery systems, mid 1987



## The acid test

Continued from page 1

more disarmament results in less security. This triggered a recollection of the essential problem: it was the West which, right from outset, relied primarily on nuclear deterrence, the Soviets relying on their superiority in the field of conventional forces.

In the meantime Mikhail Gorbachov had become the new Soviet leader and he came up with a new series of proposals.

His first was a moratorium on the stationing of Russian medium-range missiles followed by a call on both sides to stop further stationing taking place.

Two months after the first Reagan-Gorbachov summit in November 1985 in Geneva, the Russian leader sent Reagan a letter with, among other things, the proposal to get rid of all medium-range missiles in the coming five to eight years.

This was the first time that such an offer was made without demand for the inclusion of the British or French missiles as part of the deal.

The second summit took place in Reykjavik in October 1986. Both leaders agreed in principle to reduce the number of warheads to a hundred. But the meeting ran aground on the American refusal to put SDI on ice.

In February 1987, Gorbachov declared his willingness to sign an agreement on medium-range missiles, independent of agreement on intercontinental and SDI. The following April Gorbachov proposed the zero-zero option.

Medium-range missiles with a range of 1000 to 5,500 kilometres would be dismantled on sites of shorter range in the 500 and 1000 kilometre ranges.

Crowds gathered at American bases and blocked the roads with demonstrators. The new CDU/FDP coalition government approved the deployment and the first

SDI zero option. Even the other 100 systems in Asia and in the USA could be

shredded.

The concept's long-term objective must be a mutually balanced defence potential which eliminates the possibility of surprise attacks.

Bernd Brügge

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 9 December 1987)

What is needed is an overall disarmament concept.

The man with all the luck is Genscher. In an interview with *Stern* magazine, he said he shared the merit with Schmidt for the zero-zero option. Genscher remembers somewhat smugly that the CDU/CSU opposition didn't like it at all at that time.

Later Genscher broke ranks with the SPD and entered a coalition with the CDU/CSU. Much to his delight and much to the disgust of the conservative CSU head Franz Josef Strauss, no change followed in foreign security policy.

Kohl took over the Genscher line. Strauss thought a change of policy was on the cards which was never promised by the FDP. Strauss has not lost any of his scepticism for the superpower summit. It's not a summit for which he impatiently waited.

The energy being spent on finding out which German politician was most responsible for the summit taking place should be devoted to more important matters.

The scrapping of missiles is of historic importance if it leads onto more comprehensive disarmament measures.

Only that will protect Germans from the threat of vastly superior Soviet tanks, artillery and short-range missiles. Otherwise Germans may see the results of the recent treaty more as a disaster than a blessing.

Jürgen Lorenz

(Kiefer Nachrichten, 10 December 1987)

## Matter of giving credit — but to whom?

The ink was barely dry on the missiles treaty when politicians in Germany began claiming credit for having paved the way to success.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl, says his role in getting the arms summit to take place was a decisive one. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher says he and former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt pressured the Russians with new American missiles into coming to the bargaining table.

The SPD and the Greens are still taking a pacifist stand. Both parties point out that despite the reduction in missiles, Germans and West Europeans were mere on-lookers at the summit.

If one keeps this fact in mind, they say, then no German politician should indulge in self-congratulation.

One year ago, Helmut Kohl was the very man who thought Gorbachov was a demagogue who only wanted to lead Nato into danger with the carrot of questionable disarmament.

Kohl feared that the Americans in the heel of the hunt would look after their own interests regardless of Germany. Adenauer had the same fear and it has by no means left Kohl yet.

It's a source of worry to him that Reagan's lame-duck presidency is prepared to pay almost any price to get a peace treaty in the interests of image-bolstering. Ironically, it is the SPD and the Greens who are now applauding the Americans rather than Kohl.

In Germany the route to the summit was paved with political turbulence. The SPD left Helmut Schmidt, their own Chancellor, in the lurch on the issue.

If the view is correct, that a display of strength brought the Russians to the negotiation table, then the SPD has to subtract Schmidt's share from any merit claimed by it today.

Even the SPD's thesis, that Reagan's refusal to stop SDI

## ■ PEACE MOVEMENT

## Protest life gets slower down at the henhouse

A converted henhouse has for four years been the focal point for a standing demonstration at Mutterlangen, a military base 30 kilometres from Stuttgart, where Nato missiles are stationed.

The protest built up as the missiles were first deployed at the beginning of the decade and there were always between 15 and 20 protesters at the Mutterlangen hut.

Today there are only 10. And their motivation is on the wane. The big-power missiles deal has seen to that.

The hut, which was also used by the Press and became known as the Press hut, turned into a symbol of the protest. It was donated by sympathetic locals — and there weren't too many of them.

One of the remaining protesters said on the eve of the Gorbachov-Reagan deal: "What's the point of staying here now?" The deal would change everything.

At the height of the protest movement, protesters set up blockades, helped visiting blockaders from other parts, followed Pershing transports throughout southern Germany, kept the public informed about what was happening and helped protesters who got into trouble with the police.

Now, the blockades are almost a thing of the past. Blockaders tend to get



Roses instead of rockets? Protester outside Pershing site.

## Strategy rethink following missiles deal

The peace movement wants a clause renouncing nuclear weapons to be included in Basic Law, the Bonn constitution.

This was part of a resolution passed almost unanimously by a meeting in Bonn. The resolution also called for the Federal Republic to be declared a nuclear-free area and a zone free of chemical weapons. It called for a halt to various West European military initiatives.

The meeting was an attempt by the peace movement to draw up a new strategy following the missiles deal signed by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov.

The resolution will first be discussed by local peace groups and then put on the agenda of a special strategy conference in March.

But Ohlsen does feel that things are breaking up in Mutterlangen and elsewhere. He blames this on the peace movement's fixation on Pershings.

The willingness to criticise the movement's political strategy had increased since the start of the deployment of the new medium-range missiles in the early 1980s.

Plenty of peace movement activists claimed that they deserved the credit for the superpower deal.

Yet the verbose exclamations of this "success" almost sounded like loud whistling in a dark wood.

Dieter Schöfmann, the spokesman of the independent peace groups, said that "the greater the confuseness, the longer the wording" of the resolutions.

Ohlsen hopes that the association which has now bought the three-storey building, the Verein Friedens- und Begegnungsstätte, will turn it into an alternative education institution. There is no lack of issues which could be discussed there, ranging from nuclear energy to alternative lifestyles.

Perhaps the locals would welcome such an institution more than the idea of a base for left-wing extremists.

There has been an increasing number of attacks on the centre recently by right-wing extremist groups.

Molotov cocktails have occasionally been thrown and the protesters have not always been too non-violent in return.

One protestor claimed that the police usually drive past when there's trouble at the hut. The protesters then feel hostility from both sides.

The residents of the Carl Kabat house pay their respect to the imprisoned American clergyman who has dedicated his life to the campaign against nuclear weapons by standing outside the gate of the missile depot twice daily.

The house, just a few hundred metres away from the press hut, supports the campaign "Civil Disobedience until Disarmament". The residents will definitely stay there until the Pershings are taken away before they move off to take part in other campaigns for peace.

After years of calling for the "unilateral disarmament" of the USA the dynamic thrust of Mikhail Gorbachov's activities has got them confused.

A conference statement protesting against the incident in the East Berlin Zion church made this clear.

As the paper was rejected by the DKP-oriented groups an attempt was made to get the paper accepted by a placard.

However, after a vote was demanded the many abstentions revealed the obstacles to consensus within the peace movement.

Peter Henkel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 27 November 1987)

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## ■ PERSPECTIVE

## Germany: a time for action and an end to the myth about the political dwarf

Germany's reputation of being an economic giant and a political dwarf is a cliché which has long since turned into a myth.

In today's world, economic strength is almost the same equivalent to political potency. Within the trading triangle of America, Europe and Japan, money and goods have become perhaps the most important currencies of power.

In contrast to Asia and Africa, where weapons have the last word, the democratic industrial states no longer regard violence as an appropriate currency of politics.

The atomic bomb has effectively avoided a third world war, and to a large extent neutralised military power, if not debased it.

Large military machines are wonderful deterrents. But they can never be used aggressively without fear of provoking nuclear retaliation.

Therefore such military potential is not megatonne for megatonne automatically transferable into the currency of political power.

Power and influence have to be created somewhere else. And nobody has recognised this better than the Russians and the Americans, who are now on the way to halving their inflated arsenals.

Germany does not have military power. But as we can see this form of power has become impotent anyway. What she does have is economic power. If Germans realised that this is actually what gives a nation power, then the cliché of German impotence could be shown to be the myth it really is.

Any nation which is the world's leading exporting, followed by Japan and the US, and has the second largest trading surplus, is no political dwarf. Germany can congratulate itself on being one of the three trading superpowers in the world.

The myth of the powerless giant is dangerous for the German and world economies, on which no country is more dependent than Germany.

The events of "Black Monday", 19 October, show how dangerous it is for the world economy, when a nation like Germany avoids committing itself to a course of corrective action because of its belief in its own political impotence.

The dollar slid, and a downward spiral broke out on the world's stock exchanges. Since the crash the view has been gaining ground that it was more than merely a long overdue corrective action to a boom.

Experts have revised their predictions on growth rates. The dollar recovered but slid again. And now there is the threat that international trade, which has been the backbone of the German economy for decades, will contract.

The Wall Street Journal asked: where is Kohl? Which means: what are the Germans doing about it? Well, the answer is: nothing. The government and the Bundesbank pleaded innocence and acted as if Germany were on another planet out in space like some mute satellite.

They concentrated more on internal disputes about Uwe Barschel - the former Schleswig-Holstein Premier who committed suicide in the midst of a dirty tricks campaign scandal - and the call for banning of masks at demonstrations.

As regards the crash: Bonn blamed the Americans for it.

standing and also to increase their own sluggish growth of less than 2 per cent.

Instead, what remains is tragically ironic. The Germans reluctantly lowered the discount rate and announced plans for cheap loans that will remove DM200 million a year from the federal budget, acts which would have been highly thought of a few weeks earlier.

One could argue that with the collapse of the dollar and American economic leadership, the Germans missed the chance of sending the staggering world economy a psychological signal that there was, indeed, some leadership around.

Admittedly one can argue whether such corrections in such a liquid economy would have the desired effect quickly enough. But as Bismarck once said: "Sometimes it's better to make a bad decision than no decision at all." A bad decision can have psychology efficacy.

For all its problems, the international economy is not too badly off. Japanese growth has accelerated to 3 per cent. American growth managed 3.8 per cent in the third quarter this year.

But the Americans have deliberately dropped the reins of the international economic wagon. And this is where the Germans could have taken over in keeping with their economic status. Instead of doing nothing, they could have taken fiscal action to boost their own

missionary Pierre Pfleiderer, from Strasbourg. He said whoever wants to counteract the power blocs should not in his enthusiasm, overlook the fact that blocs also mean unity and stability.

This clever Frenchman perhaps meant to remind the conservative group to get their priorities right. The most important one being the western alliance which guarantees freedom. One can draw from this that major western partners are worried to death that the irrational Germans might try and undermine this by making a deal involving neutrality. An outlook which reveals the irrational fears of the allies as much as anything else.

It cannot be much comfort for Pfleiderer nor for the mistrustful observant Germans that other nations are also nervous about developments.

The American diplomat, John Kornblum, expressed the general mistrust. The other nations have fears that the Germans could turn radical in the event of an economic depression and a subsequent drop in living standards. Though he feels that the opposite case might prove to be the problem.

West Germany surpasses the gross national product of Russia and has a better balance of trade than the Americans. She can also claim to be politically stable. It's quite possible that the frustration at being a political dwarf could spur them on to make their own decisions on foreign policy.

Kornblum finds his evidence in the ranks of the CDU. Some politicians are talking of singularisation of the German situation in the threatened East-West corridor.

Is the future of German a cause for worry? It is and remains undisputed that the Germans want to retain the

their deficit, which at the moment is being blamed for everything.

The Germans and the Japanese with their 30 per cent export quotas, got the benefit of this demand without having to boost their own economies.

But that's all over now. People are too busy putting the blame on each other. And where should the new impetus come from? If the dollar falls further it will act like a wall of protectionism. And what if the Americans really do wipe out their deficit?

Helmut Schmidt, who was a master of the Black Peter strategy (Black Peter is a card game in which the aim is not to be left holding the card of the same name at the end of the game) during Carter's presidency was right when he said: "All three are world champions with regard to their foreign trade imbalances; no one can put his house in order by himself or merely by his own means."

What he is implying is that the Germans and Japanese should be reducing their surpluses by domestic growth just as much as the Americans should be reducing their deficits by fiscal discipline.

The effect of this would be to match self-interest with responsibility. At present German growth is below the OECD average. Unemployment is three times higher than after the second oil shock. Our investment rate is behind that of France, America and Japan. This figures paint a gloomy picture for the now jaded economic wonder. The Germans have got to realise that any nation that exports 30 per cent of its domestic product, has to come out from behind its unimportance and do something for the world economy.

*Josef Joffe*  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 5 December 1987)

## Honecker visit and the issue of unity

East-West relationship was at last beginning to thaw. And is he in this respect wrong?

His opinion shows a lot of insight. He said if the government wants to make use of the new situation it must add impetus to developments. It should avoid anything that could risk a return to old entrenched attitudes.

Also on the discussion panel were two German politicians from the Federal Republic, an American, a Frenchman and a Briton. The theme was the future of a divided Germany.

Both parts of Germany are German and have common German problems. Both political systems are highly industrialised. They both have the typical problems of such states. They use natural resources such as air, water, and land without giving them a chance to regenerate.

The chronically polluted Elbe which flows through both parts is the most visible example. So it would not be surprising to say that the Germans have common problems which can only be solved by cooperation.

And as much as Waigel may dream about the German question being resolved by a peace treaty, the reality is that the visit by Honecker amounts to an unofficial recognition of the East German state by a conservative Bonn government.

Rupert Scholz, the CDU Berlin senator was the one who tackled the theme politically. He claimed that the long icy

Continued on page 6

## ■ INDUSTRY

## Decline of Krupp a sign of the age of the tin can

Steel men used to be the pride of the nation. The creators of steel giants like Krupp and Thyssen had the freedom of the land.

Now times change. Every Krupp iron and steel works in Rheinhausen that Emperor Wilhelm II visited the best part of a century ago is to be closed.

The beginning of the end for the Rheinhausen works, which is almost 100 years old, was in the mid-1970s. There have been many causes. They have had a cumulative effect.

The steel requirements of a nation have declined. Tin cans and cars are today's big users, but they swallow up less steel than traditional users like bridges, steel girders and railway lines.

Technology means that less steel is used: cars, washing-machines and containers are being built with thinner steel.

New materials have emerged to take steel's place; and threshold countries with low wages have picked up a lot of the market.

All these together have created a structural crisis within the steel industry. In this crisis the capacities of the European steel industry have been drastically reduced, and the reduction in capacities still has some way to go.

These are the laws of the international market and no-one can halt them. Krupp workers, though, do ask why their works have to be closed, why their works' production should be placed with the neighbouring Thyssen and Mannesmann plants in an agreement between the three companies.

The despairing question put by the Krupp workers touches on a central point.

There is a strong likelihood that their Rheinhausen works could have continued for years, despite the fact that the plant produces sectional steel, badly hit by the current steel industry crisis.

If market forces had been allowed to operate then many west European works would have had to disappear before the Krupp works at Rheinhausen went to the wall.

But market forces have been applied to the steel industry only to a limited degree for a long time.

Since 1980 steel companies have produced and marketed a big proportion of their production under one of the compulsory cartels, organised and super-

Continued from page 5

liamentary democracy which the Americans and British taught them.

It's also true that the 17 million in East Germany would love to have the same freedom and civil rights. Wherby it's impossible to say whether that would be desirable or conceivable within the framework of a common state.

It's also a fact that the CDU and the CSU had to ditch the reunification rhetoric of the opposition years. Honecker's sphere of influence cannot be dismissed as just a phenomenon.

Finally, let us have integration by all means as long as it guarantees freedom. But we must not forget that geography placed the Germans in Central Europe and gave them no choice in the neighbours that they have.

Felix Hartlieb  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 10 December 1987)

vised by the European Commission, although this Commission is responsible for seeing that the market is not distorted by cartels.

The quota cartel means the ordinary levelling off of individual producers by such market-linked mechanisms, irrespective of their production capacities.

But not all were equal. Some were "more equal" because their governments had given them a helping hand with lavish subsidies.

According to German steel producers more than DM100bn have been poured into the steel industries of partner countries in the European Community since 1976. No-one has seriously disputed this figure so far.

Since the beginning of the 1980s the West German government has been urged, besieged in fact, to put up a stand in Brussels against the subsidy flood.

The most capable manager with the best works and the most industrious workforce in the world cannot stand up for long to the competition posed by foreign finance ministers.

The Bonn government's passivity, under Helmut Schmidt just as much as under Helmut Kohl, has contributed to the disappearance of German steel production capacities from the marketplace, while weak steelworks in France, Britain and Italy continue to operate.

It is well-known that the Italian steel industry has demanded fresh subsidies running into billions and that the Belgian Cockerill group has made losses running into the hundreds of millions.

Subsidies in France have not been so high but even there a halt should be made to "subsidyitis."

It is also regrettable that the Bonn government is not so credible in Brussels now as it could have been earlier. The West German steel industry is itself no longer without sin. Saarstahl and the bankrupt Maxhütte have swallowed up enormous sums of public money.

Can and should the Bonn government, whose Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg ardently battles against debts, pour billions into what remains of the West German steel industry?

Can the government defend the German steel industry from heavily-subsidised imports from neighbouring Common Market countries, by compensatory tariffs?

That would not be a satisfactory solution even if it were possible in Europe.

The Bonn government will now safeguard such products that are regulated by the quota system by the continuation of the cartel. But that is not a long-term solution.

There is no way round reducing capacities. Arrangements can be developed that make this process "socially bearable," but the industry's future lies in a continued concentration of effort on high-quality products that will increase the industry's competitive edge.

Who, however, in this situation, politician or trade union leader, provokes the despairing workers to blind anger instead of explaining the position to them as it is and working with them constructively to search for solutions, acts irresponsibly.

Finally, let us have integration by all means as long as it guarantees freedom. But we must not forget that geography placed the Germans in Central Europe and gave them no choice in the neighbours that they have.

Helmut Uebbing  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung  
für Deutschland, 10 December 1987)

The Federal Republic has been



Ruhr steelworkers push into the Villa Hügel during a Krupp board meeting.  
(Photo: Sven Simon)

## City comes to a halt in support of protesting steelworkers

Steelworkers employed by Krupp are rebelling against planned plant closures. Sympathy strikes brought the Ruhr port of Duisburg to a virtual halt one day this month. One group of workers went to the Villa Hügel, the former Krupp residence and symbol of the Krupp dynasty, and broke in on a supervisory board meeting to make their point. An observer said: "Old Alfred Krupp would turn in his grave." And the steelworkers say they are prepared to fight on, as Hans Willenweber reports for *Stuttgarter Zeitung*.

threatened for the first time since its establishment by "general strike" — if only in Duisburg with a population of 600,000 and the world's largest inland port.

Traffic and business in Duisburg were brought to a complete standstill. City leaders closed the Town Hall and all municipal buildings. Thousand of city officials and employees wanted to join the steelworkers on the streets.

It was assumed that workers at the Duisburg works of Mannesmann and Thyssen will "spontaneously" come out in sympathy with their striking Krupp colleagues.

The public services trade union (GTV) came down on the side of the steelworkers. The city's fleet of public vehicles stopped running. Dustmen and road-cleaners got into their 170 orange-coloured dust carts and special wagons and, with warning lights flashing, made for the Krupp steelworks.

The advantages of data banks over libraries are obvious. The user can receive printed information within seconds without having to leave his desk.

And the system functions optimally regardless of whether information is required on exchange rates in New York, short technical reports from London or specialist essays and reports on German enterprises, markets or patents.

When one takes into account how many hours are lost looking for information in libraries, one would expect to see a boom in the use of data banks.

Surprisingly it's not the case. The concept is still alien to many medium-sized Central European and Japanese firms. Whereas in America it has long since been routine.

Since 1986 the number of information brokers has increased from 175 to 250 in West Germany. Fifty of them are

## ■ COMPUTERS

## Rapid growth of data-banks not a universal trend outside America

### Stuttgarter Zeitung

In 1957 the Russians launched *Sputnik* into orbit. It sent out signals which were unintelligible to eavesdroppers.

The Americans spent \$20m and six months work on deciphering the code.

Only later did the Americans realise they could have saved themselves both the time and the money. Data about the Russian code was in an American university library. But not one researcher on the decoding team thought of looking for the information there.

Today, this sort of experience is believed to be the driving force behind the developing of data bank systems.

As a result of this, according to IGE - the German Economics Institute - 30 years after *Sputnik*, there are 3,400 data-banks accessible to the public around the world.

Libraries all over the world are now faced with a dangerous new rival. For data banks are in reality archives.

Though admittedly stored in computers, which electronically stores, distributes and keeps on call data.

The data is collected from different fields by 5,300 private computing centres called Hosts. Whoever wants data receives an access code word. His computer then receives the data over the telecommunications net. The post office sends the bill afterwards.

Entrepreneurs from even states like Lower Saxony are profiting from such developments. Lothar Sehrar is a good example. He is the commercial head of the EZN in Hanover, a Lower Saxony research centre. Apart from research promotion, his specialists offer an information service to those who afford their own computers.

People will not find the prospect of themselves making use of computers so off putting. Furthermore, sooner or later even medium-sized firms will new need a computer for drawing up statements or doing books.

Later even for making contact outside of the firm. Admittedly, so say the experts, the application of computers in a few years to increase competitiveness in world markets could be far too late.

They use a system of user-identification — that is, someone else's membership card — to offload all costs.

The user number has to be given when making a transaction so that the post office can send on the bills. Some enormous bills have been run up

Hackers: making sure someone else pays

### General-Anzeiger

I hope I am not sitting on a time bomb, wrote Roy Omund, manager of computer systems in the computing centre of the European Laboratory for Molecular Biology in Heidelberg, in an open letter to his colleagues in New York, Tokio, Paris and Geneva.

Omund had discovered earlier this year that computer hackers had linked up to his computer system and had put all security precautions out of action.

They got in and used the computer to gain access to other systems which included the German space research laboratory in Oberpfaffenhofen.

Other computing centres have reacted less nervously than Omund. Allan Kerbroan, of the Paris Observatory: "Our software engineers need only two hours to repair the changes to our programmes."

At the end of August German hackers got into the computer system as they had three months before. And they gave the security system a good test. Kerbroan: "We couldn't work out what they could put our astronomical data to."

The hackers introduced themselves by using a codeword and then used more coded information to gain further access. Normally, they would be halted at this point, but a system fault let them get further.

Access to data is usually wide open once hackers have the key to entry. The data can then be manipulated so that they can get even further and make changes so smoothly that detection is difficult or impossible.

The makers of the observatory software say the software has now been altered.

According to Omund, the hackers primarily unloaded the costs of their world-wide computer travels. Computer hook-ups through telephone networks cost money.

They use a system of user-identification — that is, someone else's membership card — to offload all costs.

The user number has to be given when making a transaction so that the post office can send on the bills. Some enormous bills have been run up

Continued on page 8

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## ■ THE CHEMICALS INDUSTRY

**Big Three are doing well worldwide: ability to adapt pays dividends**

**B**ad news sells newspapers. Some current headline hitters include: Porsche, which is to put some of its staff on short working weeks; Siemens, which is to pay a smaller dividend; and Volkswagen, which is pulling out of car-making in America.

Many nervous observers think these are clear signs of an imminent recession.

The good company news is reserved for the back pages of the finance sections: the three leading chemicals groups are doing well.

The bosses of BASF, Bayer and Hoechst are waiting to give their traditional autumn press conferences. They will all give optimistic forecasts for turnover and profits.

Hermann-Josef Strenger, executive board chairman of Bayer, said that although the fall of the dollar had increased the competition's pressure, the company "can keep this in check and balance things out to a large degree with our international connections."

Bayer's profits before tax increased in the first three quarters by an imposing 7.5 per cent to DM2.4bn. Management is convinced that the trend will continue.

Bayer is the fifth largest group in West Germany and has worldwide sales of almost DM41bn. The group employs 173,000.

Unlike other export industry bosses Hans Albers of BASF and Wolfgang

**DIE ZEIT**

Hilger of Hoechst did not find it necessary to come up with the obligatory invective about the "limits of the pain" in their interim reports, as a result of the continued decline of the dollar.

After the automobile industry and engineering, chemicals is the most important sector of industry internationally. The industry has good reasons for meeting the turbulence of the dollar, the world's most important currency, with calm.

The Big Three, along with the Düsseldorf-based Henkel group, have built up their production structure worldwide, making themselves resistant to the risks of currency fluctuations.

It was a real advantage for German chemicals companies that they had begun to invest on the other side of the Atlantic early on.

Confident in their excellent research, Bayer established a joint venture with Monsanto in 1954 to get in on the worldwide boom in artificial fibres, exploiting Bayer's work with polyurethane. (This joint venture was later broken up.)

In 1958 BASF welded together a similar alliance with Dow Chemical. In

1968 Hoechst set up its own Trevira production plant in South Carolina, the centre of the American textiles industry.

In the early days the three "successors to the Farben empire" built up their involvement in America when a US dollar cost four marks.

In 1974 Bayer swallowed up the Cutler family business in Berkley, California. The business handled blood plasma, infusion solutions and medical instruments.

Four years later Bayer took over the Miles Group in Elkhart, Indiana, involved in vitamin preparations, diagnostics and enzymes. Last year BASF had a turnover of four billion deutsche marks and employed 131,000.

In 1985 alone Bayer acquired from the Celanese Corporation division handling heavy-duty solid solutions, a sector with a glowing future, the chemical varnish firm Inmont from United Technologies and the American fibre subsidiary of the Dutch Akzo Group.

Hoechst made the most costly raid of any foreign company into the US market with the acquisition of the remainder of the Celanese group for DM5.9bn.

Hoechst had a turnover last year of about DM38bn and employs 181,000. It reported an American turnover of DM4.8bn — more than major companies of the order of Nixdorf or Schering had to introduce short-time in video-cassette production.

BASF's Hans Albers said: "Companies such as 3M and Memorex can offer video-cassettes at considerably cheaper prices now."

BASF demonstrates just how resistant major German chemicals companies have become in the past few years to set-backs with individual products.

Despite a costly reduction in capacities in the fertilizers section which had suffered from reduced sales, a slack magnetic media sector and a drop in earnings in the refining division of subsidiary Wintershall, Herr Albers reported that the first three quarters of this year were "very gratifying" with a slight increase in earnings.

BASF finance director Ronald Schmitz was more specific. He said: "Three years ago the consequences of a dollar at DM1.67 and crude oil at eighteen dollars a barrel could not be foreseen."

The chemicals multinationals are self-sufficient with their American subsidiaries, and their stability is influenced for the better by their European business which is unaffected by the US dollar.

Over two-thirds of Hoechst exports

are supplied to the European Community, EFTA or the Comecon countries.

Their competitors have a similar trade pattern. Only 15 per cent of BASF exports are invoiced in dollars.

Just like their American competitors DuPont, Dow Chemical and Union Carbide, Bayer, BASF and Hoechst subsidiaries, producing in America, can ex-

port considerably with the favourable dollar exchange rate as a stimulus.

Bayer deliveries to the United States were annually worth \$700m, but now business from the US in the opposite direction is valued at \$500m.

A half of deliveries from North America are exports for customers in the Federal Republic.

BASF exports to the US of about \$400m annually will be compensated for by \$200m of exports from America to Europe, Latin America and the Far East.

There is little to fear that American chemicals majors can begin competing with German groups in export markets with the cheap US dollar.

In the midst of an American chemical boom US producers have put all their efforts into capacities to cover domestic demand, capacities that were only expanded hesitantly after the recession of five years ago.

A Hoechst manager, commenting on marketing, said: "At the moment there's no danger."

At the most German chemicals manufacturers will feel pressure from the Americans in consumer products.

This means that BASF, partly as a result of cheap imports from America, has had to introduce short-time in video-cassette production.

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## ■ ENERGY

**Record temperatures generated at joint Spanish-German solar-power plant**

Scientists and technicians from Spain and Germany are experimenting with large-scale solar energy production near the town of Almeria in a remote part of Andalusia, on the southern Spanish coast. Helmut Maier-Mannhart reports for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

plants at least this is still a major stumbling-block.

A DFLR calculation shows that with current technology megawatt-hour from a tower solar energy plant costs roughly DM80 compared with between DM20 and DM30 when using coal and between DM5 and DM10 on a uranium basis.

Assuming the development of more sophisticated technology, greater efficiency and a reduction in the cost of the mirrors (heliostats) electricity generated via the tower solar energy plant system is expected to cost DM20 per megawatt-hour by 1995.

This would make the system competitive, but only in regions with plenty of sunshine, such as the European Mediterranean region or the desert areas in Africa, Arabian countries or the USA.

A further problem which has not been taken into account is storage. If an economical storage system cannot be found solar energy will only be available during certain periods and will thus always be viewed as a kind of "second-class form of energy".

The sun's energy yield is at its highest at the same time.

The Luz company charges electricity users 15 cents per kilowatt-hour of this peak-time electricity and thus covers its expenses.

The profit situation will probably be even better when the next power plants come into operation.

Up to now a kilowatt of installed output costs \$3,300.

The figure will drop to roughly \$2,500 when the next category of power plants is built in 1988.

This is already close to costs for electricity generated by nuclear power plants (between \$2,500 and \$25,000).

Even if the Europeans are runners-up

in the race to use solar energy one aspect of this development is surprising.

The mirrors for the sun-farms in the California Mojave Desert come from the Upper Palatinate in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The West German company Flachglas AG has successfully specialised in their construction.

Mirrors worth \$30m have been supplied so far.

Spurred on by this success Flachglas now wants to produce other components too and move into marketing complete solar energy plants.

The example of the Luz company shows that it is already possible today to economically utilise solar energy.

Although this does not apply to Central Europe many parts of the world could make use of this form of energy.

This technology, which is in principle uncomplicated, should definitely be

**Süddeutsche Zeitung**

promoted in African and Latin American countries, which spend a great deal of their foreign exchange earnings on energy imports.

Energy in these countries often means survival, for example, as a basis for irrigating land.

Development aid in the form of solar energy plants would give the recipients the energy they urgently need at virtually no expense, since running costs are minimal.

Industrialised countries would also benefit, since many a ton of oil could then be preserved.

**Helmut Maier-Mannhart**  
(*Süddeutsche Zeitung*,  
Munich, 23 November 1987)

These disks are then etched to remove the traces of cuts and to produce a smooth surface.

Above all, the thickness of the material and the loss of material during cutting makes polycrystalline cells much more expensive than amorphous ones at this stage.

However, as the next stage of treatment — the doping of impurities, the contacting with electrodes, the hardening and tempering of the surface with protective coatings, and the embedding in a frame needed for the photovoltaic effect — also accounts for a substantial share of total manufacturing costs, the polycrystalline cells can notch up points in their favour here, since amorphous systems need twice as much surface area to generate the same power output.

Today's market in this field is still small but interesting.

On the one hand, there are a variety of so-called "island cases", the spectrum here ranging from automatic radio relay and radar equipment and sea buoys to water pumps in developing countries and isolated farms or small settlements in remote regions.

A further field of application with growing significance is the field of modern comforts.

This includes the solar-charging of portable radios and TVs or the supply of electricity via solar modules for weekend houses, caravans and yachts.

Special "solar power packs" are being manufactured in the Wedel AEG factory to cater for needs in this field.

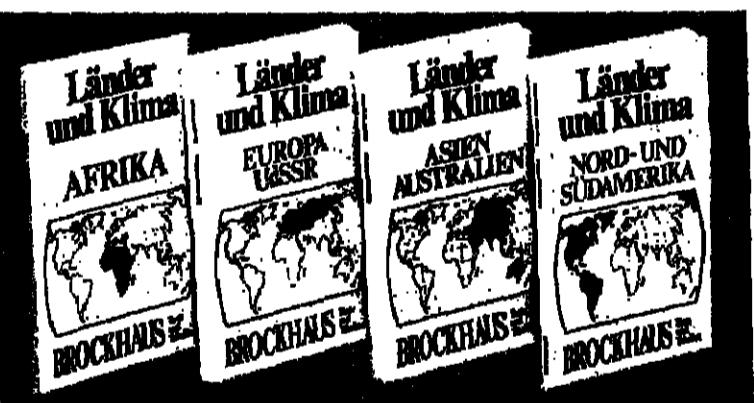
These packs consist of standardised modules, the most frequently used comprising four times five solar cells. These

amounts to only ten megawatts.

The solar generators produced in Wedel are made of polycrystalline silicon cells measuring ten by ten centimetres.

The solar cells are then sawn off these columns as thin one-millimetre thick disks.

This material was chosen because the

**Meteorological stations all over the world**

supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

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Continued from page 7

by some groups of hackers using other people's numbers.

It looks as if the hackers had little interest in the Heidelberg laboratory itself. They would appear to have used the computing centre to gain entry into the system. Their destinations were the Max Planck Institute for Plasma Physics in Garching, the European Nuclear Research centre in Geneva; CERN, and the cradle of hackers itself, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

He said: "A realignment in the EC would hit us harder than the depreciation of the dollar."

Despite the rough times ahead that chemicals managers have to deal with shareholders will be little aware of this in the coming year.

Two of the "Big Three," Bayer and Hoechst, celebrate their 125th anniversary, more an occasion for a bonus than a cut in dividends.

Computer systems in Universities and large research centres have always been shown up to be about as watertight as a sieve. CERN has never really been able to shake off the events of the hacker era. Experts fear that there is no security system which is foolproof.

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## ■ THE CITY

## Architects, planners, look to the next century

DER TAGES SPIEGEL

The city in the 21st century will not be much different from the city of today — at least it will be architecturally similar.

The vital aspects of the city in the 21st century can be seen already, it seems from what delegates had to say at a two-day meeting of architects, city-planners and politicians in West Berlin's Aspen Institute.

On the other hand, the use of the city is expected to change, and that means that its character will too.

The experts could not say much about what directions city development would take. They were uncertain whether it would be to a renewal of the city centre or whether city centres would continue to be collecting tanks for social drop-outs so that other people would live as if they were in a fortress.

There was dispute over whether West Berlin could be regarded as a model of the city of the future.

The city as such has always been a place for innovation and cultural development. The countryside has always served mankind, since the early Stone Age and the discovery of a farming culture, for supplying physical needs.

The intellectual food of mankind was produced in the cities, writing, religion, culture, science and technology.

But during the 20th century the boundaries have been less easy to see and the change has increased in speed.

The dividing lines between city precincts and the countryside have become less and less distinguishable. Nature is lost, replaced by cities.

At the same time, between the building canyons, nostalgia for the world of nature increases and "city ecology" has become an important feature of planning.

The countryside, not the city, has survived the most radical changes that have taken place in the post-war years leading up to the turn of the century.

The mechanisation of the countryside, created on drawing-boards in the city, is almost completed.

The conversion of villages into suburban residential areas is going ahead at all speed.

The success of technology has also gripped the city and makes it difficult to forecast the future.

According to the Aspen conference delegates, futurology perishes in such circumstances as the oil price crises that could not have been predicted — with the resulting changes in energy consumption.

It is similarly difficult to be able to estimate the effects of certain technologies on city development.

No expert could realise in the 1970s that container traffic in the 1980s would be important in city building, as in New York for instance.

Huge containers have made it possible to transport goods and merchandise faster and cheaper, with the result that former port districts were no longer used to the full.

Housing requirements, particularly exclusive housing, took over the former port districts.

The social decline of these city districts is the consequence of improve-

ments to others. This can be observed in most major cities.

In the days when houses had chimneys that belched smoke, the moves in the city took place to residential areas upwind where the quality of the air was better.

Technical developments have also had their effect on the working world to a degree that cannot be ascertained properly.

Since the decline of the old trade guilds the trend was to separate work from home. But with the new information and communication technology this process seems to have been reversed.

Americans in the discussions said that in the US more than nine million were working in front of a computer screen in their own homes rather than at an office. In three years it is expected that 13 million will be.

City transport will be drastically affected in our future computer-oriented society, when with the aid of computers more work is done at home and people do not have to travel.

In Frankfurt alone with a population of 600,000, there are 250,000 commuters who go into the city in the morning and return in the evening.

The Aspen conference suffered from the fact that no social scientists took part in the survey of the city of the future. The most pressing problems over the next decades will not involve architecture but social aspects.

One British participant said that city-planners had devoted too much attention to the interests of the middle classes and the way they saw themselves.

In many British cities it could be seen that the lower social classes made up the majority of the population, because the more affluent turned their back on the city with its crime problems and went into the suburbs.

Further, he says it is "a gift for the year 2000" to a world "which wants to renew itself at the turn of the century for reasons of self-preservation."

It is a utopian idea, naive and self-confident, and his messianic attitudes produce scepticism at first. His unwavering optimism must provoke mockery.

It is an immature vision full of contradictions whose financing is still way in a city.

Frankfurt is the European city with the lowest birth rate among the women of the city. If young people move into a city they are usually newly married without children.

There has been an increase of the police presence in cities with the increase in social differences which are expressed in terms of violence and vandalism. One participant said that the police were the glue that kept the cities in a whole piece.

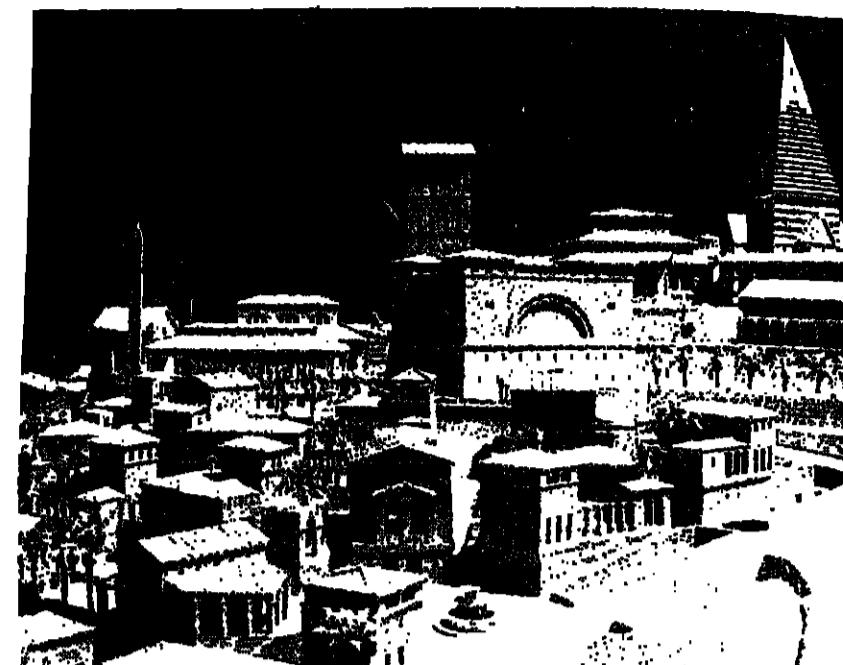
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The lay-out of public buildings and square is of considerable significance for city life. A city is fortunate if there is a balance between private homes and public buildings — most old cities are still good examples of this.

There was a controversial debate as to whether West Berlin could be regarded as a model of the city of the future since no-one could define where the heart of the city lay.

The international building exhibition has been well received internationally with its two approaches, cautious city renewal and an exhibition of new architectural trends.

Manfred Ronzheimer  
(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 22 November 1987)



A gift for the year 2000, or something else? Atlantis Project.

(Photo: Wolfgang Herg)

## By golly golopolis, it's an Atlantis megalopolis

Art dealer Hans-Joachim Müller is an active promoter of the type of art known as "progressive".

He is also a sharp-tongued controversialist and big talker who cleverly knows how to sell his undoubted sense of mission and his idealism.

A few years ago he began peddling a spectacular new idea to the art world; his pitch was exhibitions and where the influential art patrons and dealers gathered.

His brainchild is called "Arimith Project" and it is now being unveiled publicly. Müller says this is "an artistic initiative which serves experts as a model of how to do it."

This is all set in the midst of sophisticated office furniture of superior design that has been donated by various companies.

Only a very crafty dialectician can hope to recognise the effect, from a style and taste point of view, this conglomeration of museum and modern art.

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The shabby stairwell and even the toilets have been given the intimate look of a boutique in blue, white and gold leaf with tile and brick decor. It shows just how hopeless purpose-built premises can be done up.

What is also astonishing is the confrontation and combination of modern art in the gallery rooms themselves.

There are typical works of contemporary art (Albers, Pfahler, Lenk and Hauser) next to ancient works and exotic art from Black Africa and Asia.

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## ■ FILMS

## Werner Herzog's latest: a Cobra that needs some venom

The eleven-year drought and the death of his mother has embittered Francisco Manoel da Silva. The exploited worker Francisco becomes the feared bandit Cobra Verde.

Powerful whites get him deported from Brazil to Africa because he had got a plantation owner's daughter pregnant, because no-one wanted to quarrel with him and because he had an impossible task to fulfill.

He had to get slaves in exchange for weapons, although for the past ten years no slaves had come from the distant kingdom and the mad king had had all whites killed.

But Cobra Verde is successful, at least in the short term. He gets slaves, overthrows the king with an army of Amazons and becomes deputy king himself.

The one in *Fitzcarraldo* and even in *Nosferatu*, the title character was more important.

These films are about these characters' dreams and their attempts to realise these dreams and their failures.

Then Herzog also has certain visual ideas in mind.

The one in *Fitzcarraldo* was to have

the visual image of a ship being carried

over mountains.

Cobra Verde also goes a long journey

that is of no use to him. But here the

similarities end.

Cobra Verde, unlike *Aguirre*, *Fitzcarraldo* or *Nosferatu*, is no Sisyphus character, no person who battles against enormous odds.

He lacks an aim, a dream. He does not live to do a certain deed. It is not a matter of life and death for him (nor for the audience).

In the first place when Herzog wants to indicate that Francisco is turning into a bandit it is done by hasty, brief visual episodes cut into each other.

These episodes show how Francisco toils away, how he is done out of his wages and how in the dark he wakes up his overseer before he kills him.

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ki's fault that in *Cobra Verde* only Kinski is recognisable. Kinski acts uninvolved and as a consequence obtrusively. The blame for the character's dilemma and the stiffness of the film is primarily because Herzog's hero has no story to tell. Then Herzog's visual effects are not very exciting not so much because of they are hackneyed but because Herzog's most beautiful subplots make no sense.

Why was this film made at all? It was suggested on television in a report by Herzog himself about the making of the film that it was because Herzog was fascinated by Klaus Kinski.

He repeated almost compulsively that he had to show off the "world wonder Kinski" once more, for the fifth time in fact.

When Herzog says that, he acts either like Jesus who had to carry the cross for

or Peter Lorre in Fritz Lang's *M* when he explains why he killed the children.

In reports on the shooting of the film

it was said that Herzog found dealing

with the locals frustrating.

The worst is that the bandit knows

everything but does nothing. It is not Kinski



Star without a story ... Kinski as *Cobra Verde*.

(Photo: Concorde Film)

of curiosity (as in *Fitzcarraldo*) but out of pure calculation, perhaps to attract attention.

Herzog tastelessly lets crippled local people hobble and crawl through the landscape as symbolic figures. In this moment the film lost its disturbingly naive and showed a contempt for mankind.

*Cobra Verde* is sadly a failed film. But the media is wrong to have pilloried it as it has.

There can be no talk of it having a "touch of Brecht" or of "epic qualities." *Cobra Verde* is neither a "visionary masterpiece" nor a "sorry fascist effort."

Perhaps one of the characters in the film has defined the film's failure

## ■ THE ENVIRONMENT

## Long-term Chernobyl effects 'more serious than authorities let on'

The long-term effects of the Chernobyl disaster are likely to be more serious than the public has been led to believe, says a study by the University of Munich's Institute of Radio Biology.

The study has new scientific evidence based on measurements in areas of Bavaria which were among the parts of Germany worst affected by fallout from the stricken Soviet reactor.

The study says the radiation counts published by the authorities are inadequate and misleading. The mean values are arrived at by taking the average readings from large areas and populations disguise the fact that the absolute readings of many areas diverge radically from each other.

The institute took 22,000 measurements at 3,600 points on pasture land four kilometres away from each other.

It turned out that in several areas of southern and eastern Bavaria becquerel counts are higher than figures released by the Radiation Protection Commission and the Society for Radiation and Environmental Research, and will probably continue to be for so many years.

The new data now forms the basis of a new map with improved resolution and representation of 16 zones with colour tones showing the intensity of the radiation. The map indicates that the top soil is still highly radioactive in the districts of Berchtesgaden, southern Miesbach, northern Regensburg, South

and West of Augsburg and in Zwiesel. The worst hit area of all is the Bavarian Forest.

Radio biologist Professor Edmund Lengfelder has another map which illustrates in blue tones the rainfall of 30 April 1986. It shows that the differences in dispersion of radioactivity is still attributable to Chernobyl and not to natural geological processes.

It is now known that these particles have been inhaled by some groups of people and that imbalanced nutrition can increase this risk.

Radioactivity from those isotopes with short half-lives has returned to normal. Only Caesium and Ruthenium remain. The toxic effect of these isotopes on the environment will remain at the same level for a long time.

Mean values are not indicative of the actual levels which people in specific areas are exposed to, said Lengfelder. It is also pointless, he added, to list average becquerel counts taken from local districts — which the Bavarian environment Ministry recently did — or to compare Lower Saxony in the North with Bavaria in the South.

Munich University's results were presented to a conference in Regensburg organised in conjunction with the Federal Environment Ministry.

At the conference, Lengfelder voiced serious doubts about the official attitude that the long-term effects of the Chernobyl disaster would not lead to any recognisable effects on the public's health. He said that science is at present not in a position to make accurate predictions.

## Radioactivity warning plan

A nationwide system to monitor radioactivity in the environment should go into operation at the end of 1989, says Arno Fricke, of the Lower Saxony Environment Ministry.

He told dairy experts in a speech at Hanover Technical University that between 30 and 50 meteorological stations between the island of Sylt in the North Sea to the Bavarian Alps in the south would be used.

In addition, civil defence is expanding its net to 2,000 posts to measure radioactivity in the ground. Thirty six more posts will monitor rivers and canals and the North and Baltic Seas.

Every two hours the Federal health authority in Munich will receive and publish data.

The Länder will have the responsibility of checking radioactivity in food, tobacco, drinking water, sewage, soil, plants and manure.

Lower Saxony now has an additional centre in Oldenburg which brings the number of centres to eight. Lower Saxony is working on how best to measure radioactivity.

But a radiation-protection law passed in 1986 means that in the event of an atomic accident only federal recommendations and yardsticks can be used.

Fricke said that individual Länder could apply more restrictive levels for small-scale accidents such as an overturned atomic transporter.

But large-scale ones which might affect the whole of Europe, require the Land to conform to Federal safety limits. This was the only way adequate action across the entire nation could be taken.

Professor Franz Römer, who developed a process to decontaminate whey, told the meeting that with the same system even milk could be decontaminated. He has received requests from Austria, Japan and the Soviet Union.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 December 1987)



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## ■ THE MEDIA

## Feminist magazine anti-porn campaign backfires

A feminist magazine's campaign against pornography appears partly to have misfired. The November edition of *Emma* carried some pornographic photographs in a feature article. Now some distributors and booksellers have decided to boycott the edition after two Munich lawyers claimed that they could be prosecuted for distributing it. Claudia Meyer reports for *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

The only feminist magazine in Germany, *Emma*, has gone on attack against pornography and sexism.

"We want to give the pornographers a good hiding," said Judith Rauch, one of the magazine's editors.

*Emma* publisher Alice Schwarzer and her colleagues in Cologne, however, have got a chilly wind blowing in their own direction.

This time it's not the public prosecutors who are causing problems, but two lawyers from Bavaria who have made a name for themselves as counsels for the defence in pornography court cases.

These two lawyers have called upon wholesalers and magazine kiosks to boycott the November issue of *Emma*, claiming that it is covered by the provisions of the distribution ban specified in section 184, paragraph 3, of the Criminal Code.

If this is true, anyone who sells the magazine is guilty of distributing pornographic material.

Indeed, there is plenty of hardcore-category pornography inside the magazine although there is a harmless picture on the cover.

The blunt photos illustrating a depressing pornography report by Cornelia Filter were taken from popular sex magazines.

Judith Rauch dismissed suspicions that Countess Dönhoff, who is publisher of the weekly newspaper, *Die Zeit*, was chosen as the cover photo to camouflage the contents.

## Paper hit painful blow over naked-man photo

A 37-year-old man whose photograph in a newspaper made him appear naked has been awarded a pension for life.

The strident Springer daily, *Bild Zeitung*, ran the photograph of the man, who was lying between naked women in Munich's Englischer Garten, on the front page under the headline: Naked Man in the Englischer Garten.

The man was recognisable but the photograph made it look as though he was not wearing swimming trunks.

The court accepted that the man, an engineer, lost chances of promotion because of the photo.

It ruled that Springer Verlag must pay him a lump sum of DM 16,855 plus DM 793 a month until the end of March next year; then DM 1,114 a month until March 1989; and then DM 1,452 a month. Springer is to appeal. *dpa*

(*Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, Cologne, 8 December 1987)

sold it under the counter — a fact which the *Emma* editors found particularly amusing.

There are hopes that the increased demand triggered by the publicity surrounding this particular issue may offset possible financial losses.

Many bookshops ignored calls for a boycott and alternative sales networks (in pubs etc.) were also set up.

The magazine's editors made sure before they the November issue came on to the market that they need not fear legal implications.

The final word was spoken by Alice Schwarzer, who said that "if we want to get an anti-pornography campaign off the ground we must also show the women affected most."

The response of the *Emma* readers was mixed.

Although the 70 letters sent in so far expressed an unqualified approval, many readers found the pictures "shocking, disgusting and superfluous".

Other regular *Emma* readers, however, were unable to form their own opinion on the matter as they didn't even receive their copy of the magazine.

This was the result of the boycott called for in Munich, which then affected circulation in the entire Federal Republic.

The official distributors of the magazine, the Wiesbaden-based *Verlagsunion*, (which also distributes the sex magazine *Frivol* along with *Emma* and other magazines) also joined in the boycott.

*Emma* editors still don't know how great the losses will be as a result of the boycott campaign, since the November edition (printed circulation figure: 75,000) is still sold until the December edition is published.

Some wholesalers informed *Emma* readers that they had thrown their batch of November issues into the shredder.

Some magazine kiosks did not even display the magazine, whereas others

Continued on page 15

(*Der Tagesspiegel*, Berlin, 20 November 1987)

## Impartiality and money: a fine line

Journalists are offered all sorts of inducements from politicians and business lobbies wanting to curry influence. Airline tickets, hotel accommodation are not uncommon.

A series of lectures arranged by Berlin's Free University on Journalism and Ethics even heard from one journalist (Jonathan Carr, of *The Economist*, London) how he was offered shares.

Peter Voss, an editor from the West German TV network ZDF, said that there is no harm in accepting an invitation in individual cases in connection with professional activities.

He accepted a visit to Israel financed by the Israeli government. He would not have been able to pay for the trip himself.

His freedom of movement was in no way restricted. Journalists had the opportunity to talk to PLO representatives.

An invitation by the South African government, on the other hand, must be treated differently; in such cases, Voss said, the ZDF would not allow its journalists to accept.

Deborah Seward, of the US magazine *Newsweek*, emphasised that journalists should always reject trips offered by political bodies in order to ensure the independence of reporting.

Joachim Bölk, of *Der Tagesspiegel*, said: "The greater the restraint, the better". He said chequebook journalism, the buying of information with huge sums of money, was unacceptable.

Peter Voss explained that he had given his approval for the screening of the Barschel photo "without a clear conscience".

Voss said business in information, such as WDR's buying for DM 300,000 of the Moscow trial broadcasting rights

Continued on page 15

(*Der Tagesspiegel*, Berlin, 20 November 1987)

Continued from page 14

## Woman MP's nude-drawing claim rejected

A claim for damages against *Emma* magazine by Petra Kelly, a senior member of the Greens and an MP in the Bonn Bundestag, has been rejected.

Kelly objected to a VIP calendar published in 1985 which portrayed her caricature form standing at a saloon wearing only cowboy boots and carrying two revolvers.

As the pornographic illustrations are shown with a clear documentary context there are no grounds for legal action by public prosecutors.

*Emma* took advantage of a common interpretation of the law through which popular girls and men's magazines also make sure that no legal action can be taken against their pornographic photos.

However, the fact that *Emma* exploits a legal loophole which it criticises when used by others doesn't bother the magazine's editors.

Rauch feels that "lawyers must realise in the case of such publications that the argument of a different context is merely a pretext."

As opposed to the caricature of Frau Kelly, however, the Strauss caricature disparaged the dignity of a politician.

Franz Kelly's lawyer, on the other hand, argues that such a primitive picture in a sex magazine, which merely used cheap tricks to attract more customers, has a degrading effect.

The calendar, with a circulation of 3,000 copies, was sent to all Bundestag MPs as a present.

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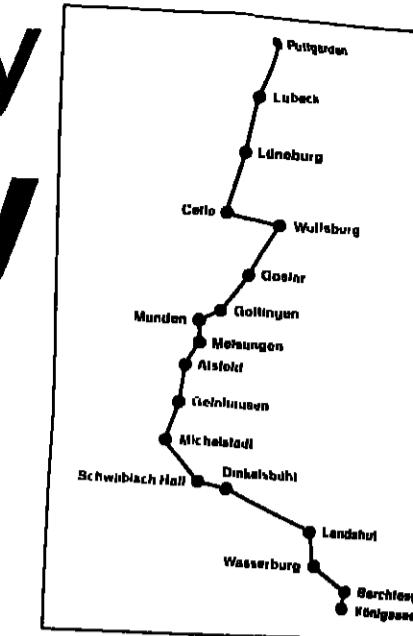
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# ■ Routes to tour in Germany The German Holiday Route – from the Alps to the Baltic

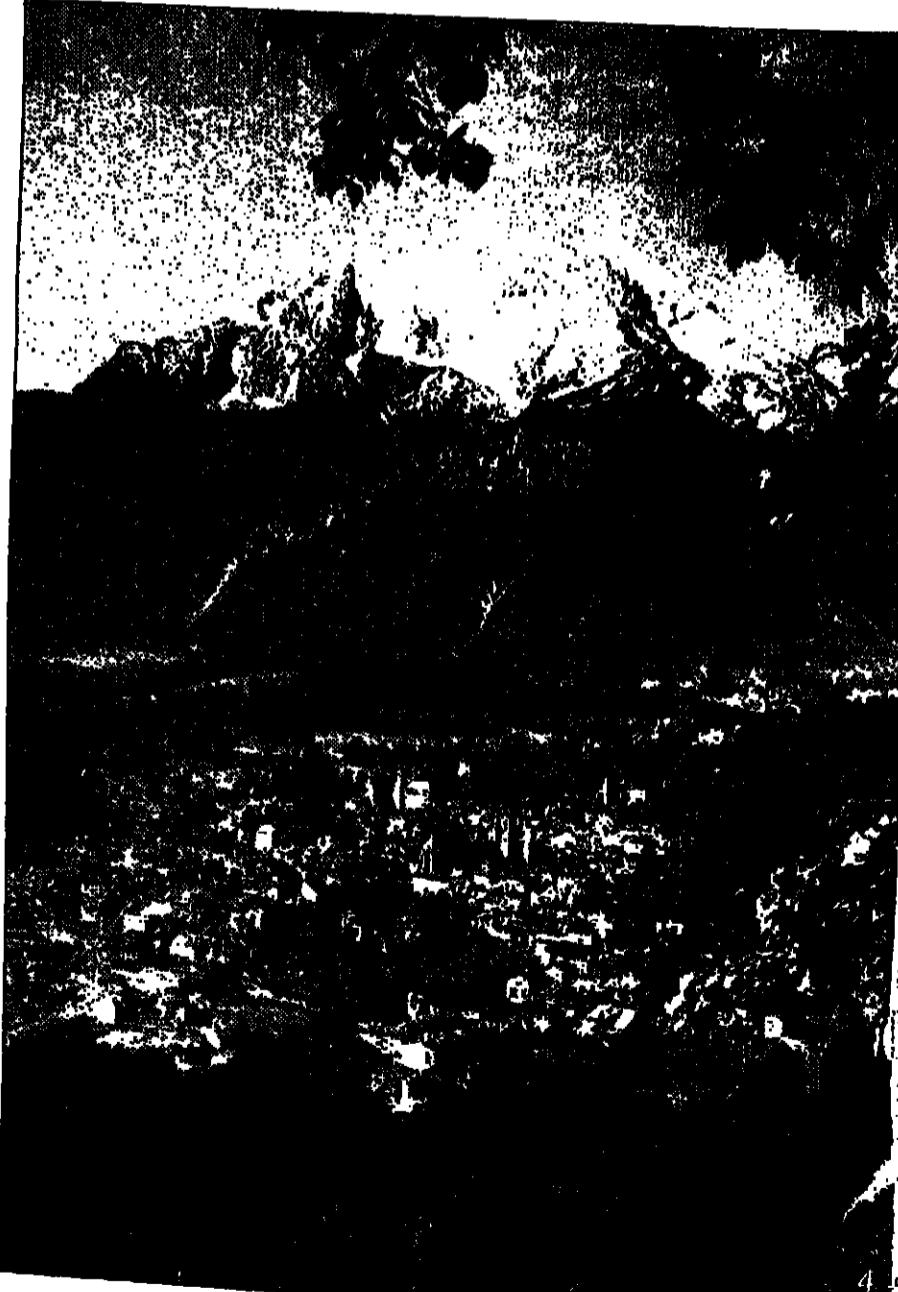


German roads will get you there, and if you plan to see as much as you can, why not travel the length of the country? From the Alpine foothills in the south via the typical Mittelgebirge range to the plains of the north, you will pass through the most varied landscapes. And so you needn't take pot luck in deciding on a route, we recommend the German Holiday Route from the Alps to the Baltic.

Start in the south with Berchtesgaden and its bob run. Maybe you have already heard tell of Landshut, a mediaeval Bavarian town with the world's largest brick-and-mortar tower. Or of Erbach in the Odenwald, with its castle and the Ivory Museum. Or of Alsfeld with its half-timbered houses, the Harz mountain towns or the 1,000-year-old Hanseatic port of Lübeck.

Visit Germany and let the Holiday Route be your guide – from the Alps to the Baltic.

- 1 Lübeck
- 2 Melsungen
- 3 Schwäbisch Hall
- 4 Berchtesgaden



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